3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P.465-B] Teklum

as with the cattle industry, is a covert cause for personal attacks on other grounds.

A third enterprise, trucking, has caused a realignment of political interests in factions associated with two truck-owning cooperatives. Membership in one of the cooperatives, or patronage of one of the two trucks, arouses the enmity of members of the other cooperative. Several threats have been made on the lives of the owners and the operators, but the only damage done has been to tires.

The tensions resulting from the introduction of these new enterprises cannot be fully measured by the deaths attributed to direct economic conflict. Wealth differences resulting from the new enterprises excite envy, and with it come accusations of witchcraft. In this community, witchcraft killing does not perform the normative function of reducing wealth differentiation that Kluckhohn saw operating among the Navaho (1944), since it is the poor man who is killed as a witch, not the rich man. The slaying of the envious witch exacerbates the economic differentiation that provides the seedbed for conflict.

Another new source of tension is found in the growing demand for political leadership or even independence from the township by the *ejido* colonies formed since land reform went into effect in 1937. The inept maneuvers of two founders of the ejido colonies in hot country resulted in two homicides (cases 12 and 18 in Table 1).[4] The increasing strength of these hamlets will mean that more attempts will be made in the future to gain political equality and/or independence. Whether this will result in increasing homicides will depend on social-control agencies external to the Indian communities.

Homicide occurring as a direct result of economic and political competition represents a new strategy in the community. The decision to kill rather than to use other negative sanctions is related to the social-control mechanisms discussed below.

Changing Mechanisms of Social Control

A system of social control rests not only on the exercise of negative sanctions, but on the sense of personal security derived from confidence in the institutions of control. In Teklum, the maintenance of control was formerly centered in the guardianship against malevolent spirits held by the ancestor spirits and the curers. The "police force," made up of ten

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *ʔak'-čamel*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *ʔuʔul*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *rnuyehl*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

463 241 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

• 423 613 [177] [181] This is a matter that varies according to the degree of acculturation reached by the community. In the most conservative groups (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas, 562 428 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patrilineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage; it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 423 613 614 According to a document dated 1861, which I found in the possession of the Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK A/A

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gomez Ichilok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, otre, Domingo Gómez Ichilok, otro Diego Gómez Ichilok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichilok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos de una propria familia, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxiliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

A/A /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

a: Villa Rojas E-4.5 (1938-1944) 1969
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000 ponerles sus mojones y a darles al posesión que les corresponde segun el número de ellos.

"Donde principió parar primer mojón *Busulton Pacton* que está en el camino derecho; 2° mojón *Oxloton* que está en el camino; 3er. mojón *Tzovilton*; 4° mojón *Tequelton*, mojón con Pedro Moreno; 5° mojón *Yolilnelej Lomchen*; 6° mojón de acuerdo con Juan Gómez Bet y Martin Sanchez Chelap se llama la raya *Teguel Canté* que es también la raya con Manuel Chinbak; 7° mojón *Tequelton* raya única con Marcos Hernandez López y Diego López y Diego Giron Vázquez; 8° mojón y último *Basulton Pacton*.

"Habiendo quedado todos los vecinos colindantes contentos, ofreciendo ambos que en lo sucesive no tendrán el menor disgusto, pues, son nativos de su propio pueblo, bajo el concepto que si alguno delinquiese en trastornar el orden en que han quedado, el agraviado lo pondrá en conocimiento del Juez para aberiguarlo y aplicarle la pena que merezca, para acuya seguridad son testigos Lorenzo Ichilok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gómez Ichilok y Gobernadores Diego Méndez Chizna y Nicolas Jiménez Acux. Por los testigos y Gobernadores que no saben firmar. Abril 12 de 1861 y como testigo y escribano Alónso Santis

423 613 614 [178] The descendants of the Gómez Ichiloks still live in the same paraje of Tzajalchen and share the same parcel. In other lineages the original parcel was subdivided on agreement between the interested parties. In this way single individuals now own pieces of land, a type of property ownership that is becoming more general as the old social organization based on clans and lineages gradually breaks up.

423 427 [613] [614] The parcels can be rented to people of other lineages and of other communities. Often the Tzeltal of Oxchuc rent their parcels to natives from Tenejapa or Cancuc who are their immediate neighbors. Payment, made with food, chicha, and money, must be shared by the most important members of the same clan other than the ones of the same lineage (Villa Rojas, 1947, ch. 19).

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423 592 [184] In the most acculturated communities (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father decides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before.

[428]

[613] [593] At this level the lineage concept has disappeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 586 Family land as well as the house and its equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but

[P 212-A]

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/Document of Lands of the Gómez Ichilok

On account of the petition of the citizens Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gómez Ichilok, another Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, another Domingo Gómez Ichilok, another Diego Gómez Ichilok and his son Diego Gómez Ichilok, and lastly his minor son, Manuel Gómez Ichilok, and as formerly was the custom in this town that, according to the brothers of one family, a piece of common land is marked off for them so that in the future there will be no disputes with the neighbors as is usually the case, we the Governors, Auxiliaries, Justices, Scribes and Witnesses, give the paraje /place/ called Tzajalchén for them to put their landmarks on and to give them the possession that corresponds to them according to their number.

"Where began to stand the first landmark Busulton Pacton which is on the road to the right; 2nd landmark Oxloton which is on the road; 3rd landmark Tzovilton; 4th landmark Tequelton, landmark with Pedro Moreno; 5th landmark Yolilnelej Lomchen; 6th landmark in accord with Juan Gómez Bet and Martin Sanchez Chelap is called the line Teguel Cante which is also the line with Manuel Chinbak; 7th landmark Tequelton only line with Marcos Hernandez López and Diego Lopez and Diego Giron Vásquez; 8th and last landmark Basulton Pacton.

"Having left all the bordering neighbors content, offering both that in the future they will not have the least disagreement, as they are natives of their own town, under the judgment that if anyone is guilty in upsetting the order in which it has been left, the injured party will put in the cognizance of the Judge to investigate it and to apply the punishment that it deserves, for whose security the witnesses are Lorenzo Ichilok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gómez Ichilok and Governors Diego Méndez Chizna and Nicolas Jiménez Acux. For the witnesses and Governors who do not know how to sign their names. April 12 of 1861 and as witness and scribe Alonso Santis./

[P. 225-C]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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tóbal. The altitude above sea level varies from 2,000 meters in the hilly periphery to 1,720 meters in the valley where the town center is located. Ejido lands acquired in the 1930s have extended the boundaries of the township to lower lands at 1,500 meters altitude.

Pre-Conquest settlement patterns in the Chiapas highlands were characterized by independent communities occupying the headlands around flat-bottomed valleys (R. M. Adams 1961:341). The choice of sites seems to have been based on defense against invading Toltec or other conquest groups (Calnek 1962:25). The sites investigated by Adams and Culbert (R. M. Adams 1961:347) in Amatenango belong to the late-Classic and early post-Classic period. They were marginal to the centers of Maya civilization in the Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala. Test excavations in the modern town indicate that it was occupied only after colonial times.

The town of Amatenango del Valle is first mentioned in the year 1528 when it was included in tribute lists with both the Nahuatl name, Amatenango, and the Tzeltal name, Tzobontaghal (Calnek n.d.). The tribute lists of 1761 include 33 families in the *parcialidad*, or Spanish political unit based on an indigenous settlement, of Zacatepec in Amatenango and 75 families in the parcialidad of Amatenango (Trens 1957 I:217). The first census done in 1778 shows a total population of 576, with 374 men and 202 women. The racial breakdown is listed as 8 white, 2 negro and mestizo, and 560 Indians (Trens 1957:221). By 1824, the population had increased to 1,620. The present population of 3,179 represents natural growth as well as inclusion of additional outlying settlements added in the latter part of the nineteenth century and during the 1930s with the enactment of the land reform act. The population changes indicate steady but not great increases. The capacity of the town to incorporate additional population has probably passed its peak. The present trend is for out-migration to newly opened ejido lands.

The subdivisions of the town, which provide the framework for administration by the national government, are included in Table 1.

The center. The center of Tzo'ontahal is called the "center [or navel] of the world." The residents of the center, with the exception of the schoolteacher's family, are all Indian. Although the town center forms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

Although the town center forms a rough rectangle on Map 1, the people think of it as being a square.[2] This conforms to the cultural ideal of a square applied in house, milpa, village, and probably world, although when anyone is asked about the last, he cautiously answers, "I have heard that it is round." The center is the unit that the people think of when they say *hteklum*, my land or my village. House lots are not sold to outsiders, particularly Ladinos, but the prohibition applies as well to other Indians living within the limits of the township.

The residents of the center identify themselves with the former residents of the two pre-Conquest sites occupying the hill of Amawitz[3] northwest of the center, and the hill of San Nicolás (called Lelem in Tzeltal) to the southeast. The following account is given of the founding of the present town in the valley:

Our ancestors lived in Amawitz. There wasn't enough water there, but there was a great deal that passed here in the valley. The ancestors came out of their cave to look at where the people should move. They told the people where they should go. The people "thought in common." They cut the trees here; then, when it was dry, they burned it with fire as they do for milpa. When it was cleared, they began to build their houses. Others saw this and came to build their houses. When they finished building their houses, everyone began to think of building a church. The first church was built in Alannantik [the low side] for San Pedro the Martyr. This was torn down because the witches used to come to get the permission of San Pedro to do witchcraft. When the new church was built, there was a division of the town into the upper and lower sections.

It is significant that the people attribute the initiative in the resettlement to the mythical ancestors, although archaeological evidence indicates that the present center was settled after the Conquest. The Conquest is not a part of their mythico-historic past. The ancestors are given credit for establishing everything.

2. The pre-Conquest term for local center was Tzamgholal (Calnek 1962:25), signifying "square head." "Head" town was possibly a ceremonial center.

3. Hermitte (1964:48) notes that in Pinola the "police" of the spiritual government are sent to outposts in Amawitz and Me?wakal in Amatenango. This suggests that it may be considered the ancestral home of other Indians of the area.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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were not affected by the congregación. The fact that there is no mention in the post-Conquest documents of the introduction of dual divisions suggests that the model was indigenous to the area.

The Indians of Tzo'ontahal state that the dividing line of the division was established in its present position when a new church, replacing the first one which was burned, was built on the present site. Judging from a date carved in a beam of the church, this must have been about the year 1746. The endogamous restriction on marriage has not led to a sense of racial distinction between the two populations. Both groups feel that they are descendants of the same ancestor figures and under their guardianship. The same Tzeltal patronyms are distributed on both sides of the division, although there is a clustering of some of them on one or another side. Table 2 shows the distribution of patronyms of 714 male and female adults; 88 percent of the patronyms are found in both divisions.[4]

The functions of the division in organizing social groupings have been eroded, but some survive. Equal representation by civil officials from the upper and lower sections, when there are two or more posts at the same rank, is still in effect. The principle of alternation of the single posts of president and *síndico*, his administrative assistant, so that one term the incumbent is chosen from Ahk'olnantik and the following term from Alannantik has not been a decisive factor since the 1930s, when Indian communities were being drawn into more active participation in national programs of change (Chapter 9).

Residential expansion within the center has been almost entirely in Ahk'olnantik because of the addition of ejido lands formerly belonging to the finca of San Nicolás on this side of town. This one-sided increase in population finally resulted, in 1965, in a breakdown of the principle of equal representation in the ceremonial posts involving high expenses, those of the four *alfereces*. Although attempts were made to find candidates in Alannantik, there were no men with sufficient funds who had not

4. Carrasco (n.d.:5) quotes a document in the *Archivo General de Indias de Seville, Guatemala* 16 indicating that Spanish patronyms were given to the heads of calpules and that these were to be extended to all members of the calpul. The present distribution of name groups in the dual divisions cannot support this, nor can it refute the possibility that Spanish patronyms were related to some larger kin or territorial grouping more than three hundred years ago.

Patronym	*Alannantik only*	*Ahk'olnantik only*	*Alannantik and Ahk'olnantik*
Lopez Tz'u?u			12
Lopez Wolto			50
Lopez Yutz			16
Perez			9
Perez Huhan			4
Perez Kam			11
Perez Kantiron			23
Perez Os			17
Perez Otol			16
Perez Tut			18
Perez Ventura			11
Sanchez		3	
Santis Peč	1		
Vasquez		3	
Total	26	58	629

The curing hierarchy was organized on the basis of the dual division until the 1940s. There were two leader curers, one on each side, who were in charge of guarding their own side against intrusion of evil spirits. During the 1940s a breakdown in the hierarchial principle led to some lessening of the power of the group and a collapse of the leadership. People now patronize curers from either section, but there is some feeling that it is safer for the curers if they cure only on their own side.

The dual division persists as a basis of economic organization only in the case of the cattle owner's associations. Pasturage on communal lands is allocated according to residence in the upper or lower division. Since cattle raising for beef has increased the size of herds the cattle owners on each side have formed an association to clear the waterholes and celebrate fiestas at the major waterhole on the Day of the Cross. None of the other new enterprises in town organize on the basis of the territorial division.

In the etiquette of social interaction, the dual division is still taken into account. When a resident of one side walks in the streets of the other side, he is not expected to greet passersby or people in their houses with the usual *b'onme wiš* or *b'onme tat* (I go, elder sister or father, or whatever the appropriate extension of kin terms may be). Such street greetings are mandatory on one's own side of the town. It is considered much safer to

It is considered much safer to drink in a bar on one's own side, but those men who pride themselves on being widely respected brag that they can drink on either side without becoming involved in a fight. When people must pass to the other side of town, they prefer walking on the Pan-American Highway, a socially neutral network, to passing through the streets of the opposite division, where their presence arouses curiosity and comments, such as "He must be looking for a lover!"

The colonias. The six colonias (Table 1) are populations of Indians who have moved from the center to take advantage of the lands granted under the ejido program of 1937 and "foreign Indians" who were formerly workers on the expropriated plantations. The Indians distinguish the close-lying settlements, or *barrios,* of Yetawitz, Pathuitz, B'očib'al, and Te?tikil from the remaining colonias listed in the census (Table 1). The populations of the barrios are more closely identified with the center since they are closer to it and there is a higher proportion of migrants from the parent group. They are linked to the side of the dual division to which they are most closely situated. Marriages can be contracted between members of the two settlements, and house lots can be acquired by residents of the town in the barrio with which they are associated. An exception was made to the association on the basis of proximity in the case of Te?tikil, which lies nearer to Alannantik but was linked with Ahk'olnantik in order to balance the population ratios at the time of its settlement. Police are appointed from these colonias and serve in the local *cabildo,* or town hall, along with other police from the center. The colonias of San Vicente and San Caralampio are farther away, and the rural judge and police appointed to these populations appear only once a week and during ceremonies in the local cabildo. The foreign Indians of San Vicente, who migrated from Chanal, and of Yetawitz, who came from Huistán to work in the finca of San Nicolás before acquiring ejido lands, are discriminated against in the local political organization. Their representatives never reach the high positions of president and first or second judge.

Ranchos and rancherías. The populations of these small settlements have only the most formal kind of social, economic, and political

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241 indicate these bases and assess the efficiency of the agriculturalists in allocating resources of labor, land, and seeds.

• 423 311 [175] *Land use.* The historical factor of the greatest significance in establishing the present economic position of the town was the act of possession of ejido lands in 1937. The first grant included 4,873.53 *hectares*[1] of land of the following categories:

irrigated flat land	139.77
non-irrigated plots	1,018.37
pasture	1,659.65
hill land	2,055.74

The high hill land with its cover of pine and scrub oak was set aside for use of all members of the community for hunting and gathering firewood. The pasture lands are similarly controlled by the civil authority for common use. The cultivable lands passed into the hands of 385 ejidatarios, each of whom received one-half hectare. A further grant in 1954 provided an increase of 2,578 hectares, including:

low mountain land	2,277.60
pasture land	300.40

423 178 The possession of land by individual small-plot cultivators reversed the trend toward large-scale commercial agriculture begun in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The land of the Indians that had been expropriated in the latter part of the nineteenth century by forced sales was to be held in the possession of the townspeople, "benefiting all with its products and uses" (Act of possession, 1937, Town Archives).

423 241 311 178 With the increase in ejido lands acquired in 1954, the share of each ejidatario has been increased to one hectare. This is usually split between low land in San Caralampio and high land in San Isidro and Tulancá, giving two growing seasons. The advantages of different growing seasons are that there is a more balanced work schedule and that there are two harvests, one in November and one in July. The ejido land grant has stabilized subsistence crop cultivation in the economy of the town and in-

1. A hectare is equal to 2.46 acres.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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creased the economic independence of the Indians. The present total of 613 ejidatarios in 1965 has increased 59 percent since the original grant. The dependence of the town's economy on the ejido land can be assessed in the fact that 63 percent of the pasture land is held in ejido grants. The use of land resources in the township is summarized in Table 4.

TABLE 4. Agricultural Productivity by Size of Landholding

Size of landholding (hectares)	*Weight of produce (kilograms)*	*Value of produce (pesos)*	*Land used (percentage)*
Less than 5 hectares			
Corn	200,000	120,000	83.
Wheat	29,000	27,550	16.8
Fruit	3,000	9,000	.2
1 hectare of ejido land			
Corn	319,688	223,781	49.
Corn (with beans)	30,320	21,224	6.
Beans (with corn)	14,000	17,360	
Wheat	185,580	181,580	28.
Beans	84,322	104,322	17.
More than 5 hectares			
Corn	67,388	45,117	34.
Corn (with beans)	96,550	68,108	51.
Beans (with corn)	42,985	56,740	
Alfalfa	350,000	42,000	4.6
Fruit	14,588	9,720	4.4
Other			6.

SOURCE: 1960 census, Mexico.

According to the 1960 census figures on productivity per hectare, privately owned plots under five hectares yield the highest return in corn (1,097 kgs. per hectare), privately owned plots over five hectares the next highest return (925 kgs. per hectare), and ejido plots of one hectare the least (810 kgs. per hectare). In the census evaluation of wheat and corn production on privately owned plots of less than five hectares, wheat apparently yields a higher return (807 pesos per hectare of wheat compared with 658 pesos per hectare of corn). This relative return is nearly the same for the corn produced on ejido lands (820 pesos per hectare return on wheat compared with 603 pesos for corn). However, this is figured at the maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs.

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maximum market price for wheat of 124 pesos per 100 kgs. The Indians usually sell their wheat at 90 pesos per 100 kgs. to Teopisca truckers, or at best gain 110 pesos per 100 kgs. by bringing it to the mills themselves. From their perspective corn is the more valuable crop, not only from the point of view of subsistence, but also for sale since if they hold it in storage they can sell it at double the price at which the values are calculated in the census (.60 peso per kg.). They do not have facilities to store wheat in order to take maximum advantage of price changes.

The census I made in 1964 of land ownership and use by the 304 families living in the center of the township (Table 5) shows that 47 percent of the households have no land other than the ejido grant of one hectare. Because of the growing population, the land per household has decreased. A comparison with the 1958 census of land ownership of 280 households in the center indicates that 89 families now have less land than they had at that date, 72 have the same amount, and 44 have more land; 99 unknown cases include new families which have been created since the earlier date, families which were no longer in existence in 1964, and households in which there is a lack of data on the question of landholding.

The strong sentiment against the sale of one's own land, well documented in the monographic literature,[2] is expressed here:

If a man sells his land without sickness, people say he is lazy. The best thing to buy if you have money is land. Unlike cattle, it does not die, it does not get lost, and it does not need watching. It is not the same with a horse. When you buy one, you have to watch it and care for it and when it dies, all is over. You lose all your money. But with land, in two years you have the land paid for and it remains as a gift. It gives us what we eat.

Land is rarely sold to outsiders. If a man needs money and has a buyer from out of town, the civil authorities raise the money and buy the plot, selling it in pieces as they find buyers. Only one small plot of land has been sold to an outsider in my knowledge of the community. This plot

2. See Tax (1957), Wagley (1941). Oscar Lewis (1963:125 indicates that in Tepoztlan the breakdown of the resistance to selling land was associated with a growing awareness of profits to be made in the regional and national economy.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 32]

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[p.31]

TABLE 5. Land Ownership and Crops Grown by Households, 1964

Crops	Owners of ejido land (2 tablones *)	Owners of ejido and inherited land No. of tablones 1	2	3	4	5	Owners of ejido and bought land No. of tablones 1	2	3	4	5 and over	Owners of ejido, bought, and inherited land No. of tablones 1	2	3	4	5	Total
Corn	45	6	2				1		1								55
Corn and wheat	92	25	13	1	2		2	3	2	2	2	1	6	5	2	3	161
Corn and beans	3	23	16	4	2		8	11	1	2			3		3	2	78
Unknown	2							2						1			5
Total	142	54	31	5	4		11	16	3	5	2	1	9	6	5	5	299

* A tablón is equal to 25 square meters roughly figured; there are 4 tablones in one hectare.

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was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the community would buy it.

Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the interest payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each successive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple: equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent disputes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the Department of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately

3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

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owned plots of less than five hectares, corn is clearly the major crop, with 83 percent of the land devoted to its production. In the ejido lands, it is cultivated on less than 50 percent of the land, with wheat and beans sharing the remaining lands. Included in the category of ownership of five hectares or more are three large fincas where cattle fodder is grown. These fincas employ eighty-three laborers, some of whom live in the town center.

Since the Mexican census figures do not take into account the total land holdings of the household, I shall refer to the data on land use from my own census in 1964 (Table 5). Beans are grown (except in three cases) only if the household has more than the one hectare of ejido land grant. Corn and beans are grown together only on irrigated lands, both in high lands and in low country. Most farmers with ejido land grow wheat in addition to corn only when the land is in continual production, since it is believed that wheat gives "heat" to the land and improves the soil. This belief is supported by the real value of crop rotation.

Decisions concerning what crops to plant where are based on two sets of criteria: topology and soil characteristics. These criteria, furthermore, are the basis for determining what kinds of seed should be planted and what techniques of cultivation should be utilized.

Topological criteria. Because of the relative wealth of land resources, the steep hills are left uncultivated. All of the steep hills are communally owned, and the second growth of pine and scrub oak provides firewood. Tall pine growing in the higher lands of the colonia of San Vicente is sold by the community to private lumber companies.

The "belly of the land," the mound-like hillocks at the bottom of the hills, are sometimes cultivated or used for pasturage. On hilly lands farmers put rocks in the banks or curve the rows of corn to avoid erosion. The very low lands of the valley floor must be drained by digging ditches.

The flat irrigated lands of the valley floor are the most desirable lands for cultivation. The Indians are reluctant to sell these lands, and hold on to them until they are forced to sell.

When the officials reach concensus on what the mean yield (or *medio calculo* as they call it) is, they multiply this by the known amount of seed planted. Every six years a house-to-house census of what was planted is made.

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base, so the farmers prefer to plant the better, quicker-growing corn seed in a mixed sand and loam soil.

The final evaluation of land is based on results at harvest. The range of variation is large: from 48 liters of yield per liter of seed to 80 litters of yield per liter of seed. Township officials say that the average harvest is five *fanegas* (1 fanega equals 12 liters) or 60 liters per liter of seed. Market prices are of less importance in deciding what crops will be planted than are considerations of what the soil "wants" and what labor is involved. Corn is grown on all kinds of land, whereas beans and special crops such as cabbages can be grown only on the more fertile soil. Wheat can be grown only where there is irrigation. One farmer raised cabbage in cooperation with a Ladino and earned 1,000 pesos, four times the amount he earned with his wheat crop the previous year. Despite the greater return for cabbage, the farmer did not plant it the next year when the Ladino, who had supported the first venture, withdrew his support. The reason he gave for this was the fact that there was more work involved and he could not accomplish it alone: first the crop had to be planted, then transplanted, then irrigated every three days in the early growing period, and cultivated two or three times; every eight days he had to get rid of worms. He estimated that growing cabbage involved well over four times the amount of work necessary for growing corn.

Labor. Most agricultural work is performed by members of households with exchange or hired labor. There is no specialization of labor when the work force includes two or more men since the men cooperate in doing each task. Communal labor is restricted to the maintenance of the main irrigation ditches. Each year the ditches are dug out where the sides have eroded and cleaned of brush and leaves. The president and judges unite to decide on a time for this work and announce it on a loudspeaker of one of the cantinas. This usually occurs around the twenty-fifth of December. Formerly, all the men of the community helped in this work whether or not they owned irrigated fields. In 1958 those who did not own such land "got smart" and refused to work.

In 1962 the civil officials decided that a cement canal should be installed near the source of the spring. They tried to finance it with contributions

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653 621 241 423 from all men of the township, but again they were refused by the farmers who did not own irrigated land. The officials then sold trees in the communally owned lands to support the project, which cost 2,000 pesos. The farmers without irrigated lands still bore the cost although indirectly since community resources were expended in subsidizing the work.

241 The scheduling of agricultural activities follows an annual cycle for the three major crops, corn, wheat, and beans.

243 242 *Corn*. In corn production, the greatest discrimination comes in the selection of seed.[4] Seed is chosen from cobs which have the most grain. The farmer must look carefully to see that none of it is rotten, since if one grain is bad, the entire five grains put into each hillock will rot. There are two major kinds of corn: a quick-growing variety and a slow-growing variety. The first is preferred, but not all soils "want" it. The bitter soil "wants" the slow corn which must be planted about the first of February. [177] A new corn seed introduced by some developmental engineers in 1957 yielded more grain, but it was not as flinty as the old variety and rotted quickly.

243 The soil is prepared by cross-plowing the land three times in one direction and two times in the other. Those who do not own their own oxen team do it just once because of the additional expense. In planting, the farmer is careful to measure rows evenly, five handspans between rows, and five handspans between each hillock, forming a square which permits the maximum growth of each plant. Five seeds are placed in each hillock. In hot country, the land has not been worked over as well, and as a result it cannot be measured as accurately because of rocks and trees. This upsets the agriculturalist's sense of symmetry and beauty.

Once the corn has been planted, the scheduling of activities is based on the maturation of the plant rather than on a calendrical sequence. The scheduling of activities in corn production is shown in Table 6. The starges of growth in the corn plant and the activities related to them are listed in Table 7.

Cultivation is performed twice, to kill the weeds and to pile up earth at

4. The botanist Anderson (quoted in Lévi-Strauss 1966:73) points out that the careful separation of seed planted in each plot distinguished Indian from non-Indian agriculturalists in other Middle American communities.

Wheat. In selecting the seed, the farmers choose those heads with the most kernels—there may be from thirty to eighty on each head. The same kind of seed must be used in planting each plot of land or the soil "does not give well." A new wheat seed was introduced by an American agronomist in the 1950s. The following reaction by an informant reveals why most of the farmers decided not to use it:

There is a quick-growing wheat, called foreign wheat because a foreigner brought it and planted it in the soil. Those who wanted to try it were given some. It was difficult to harvest because it was very dry and broke easily. Most of the grain was left behind on the ground. When it got to the threshing floor, most of it was broken. Therefore the town did not want it. So we continue planting the common wheat and it doesn't break.

The inefficient harvesting techniques force the people to consider loss of grains in deciding what wheat they will seed. However, a few of the farmers continue to grow the new wheat.

The scheduling of wheat production is shown in Table 8. The *arada* plow, introduced by the Spaniards (Foster 1951) and made locally by farmers for their own use, is commonly used to prepare the land. A few farmers borrow the plow of a relative, or sometimes a metal plowshare is bought in the departmental capital.

The harvest is the most arduous work in wheat production, but because it is done with the assistance of four or five helpers, usually brothers or compadres, it is a gay occasion. There are about a dozen threshing shelters which are individually owned and rented for 5 pesos a day. At the height of the harvesting season, the farmers have to wait for their turn to use the shelter. After the threshing, a fiesta is held in the house of the owner of the wheat at which liquor and a meal of beef stew is served. Since the labor involved is based on exchange rather than payment, the owner will take part in the harvest and celebration of those whom he has helped.

Beans. The choice of locale and the time of planting vary more radically for beans than for other crops because of the greater differences in type of seed. The two major types of beans are (1) ground beans, of

bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a potter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pottery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzo'ontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

Making pottery. The women make a wide variety of household and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzo'ontahal.

The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst)

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pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village. The expenditures of this family on meat, brown sugar, and liquor were required for the house celebrations carried out almost every Sunday. Like family No. 1 they spent 83 percent of their budget on food, a total of 714.80 pesos, and a larger percentage on clothing, 138 pesos. They sold their surplus corn for 292 pesos and their beans for 247 pesos. These crops were produced on one hectare of privately owned, irrigated land, one hectare of privately owned, non-irrigated land and one hectare of ejido land.

Family No. 3 consists of a widow and her widowed daughter-in-law who had five children. The oldest son, aged sixteen, worked their one-half hectare of ejido land and one-half hectare of irrigated land with some hired help during harvest. During the three weeks recorded, there were no returns from their crops, which include wheat and corn, and the family relied entirely on returns from pottery. This household produces more pottery than any of the others recorded, earning 61 pesos in the three weeks, because there are no adult male producers. They spent 63 percent of their budget on food, a total of 42 pesos, and 34 percent or 23 pesos on clothing.

Family No. 4 consists of a married couple with three children seven years of age and under. The husband works occasionally in the sawmill, but since he drinks a great deal, he does not contribute much of his 70-peso weekly wage to the family. He grows wheat on one-half hectare of irrigated land and corn on one-half hectare of ejido land. In the ten days recorded, no money was gained on harvest, but the woman earned 19 pesos from pottery. The family spent 77 percent, or 17.20 pesos of their budget on food and another 22 percent, or 5 pesos such as soap, kerosene, etc.

Family No. 5 consists of a married couple, their married son and daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. They own one and one-half hectare of irrigated land, on which they grow wheat and corn, and one-half hectare of ejido land. The husband and his son supplement their earning from farming by distilling liquor, earning 108 pesos in the ten days recorded. In addition, the women of the household earned 54 pesos from pottery they made. They spent 143 pesos, or 97 percent of their budget on food and 3 pesos, or 2 percent of their budget, on clothing.

Family No. 6 consists of a young couple with two children. The husband owns one-half hectare of irrigated land, and one-half hectare of non-

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434 592 [241] [423] [464] irrigated land in addition to their one-half hectare of ejido land. He supplements his income with work in the sawmill for some periods of the year, at a wage of 90 pesos a week, making a total of 165 pesos in the ten days recorded. The family spent 81 percent or 36 pesos of the budget on food, 13 percent or 6 pesos on clothing 2.3 percent or 1 peso on household supplies, and 3 percent or 1.20 pesos on medicines.

434 592 241 262 These family budgets show that most of the corn and beans can be supplied by subsistence agriculture. Garden crops of chile, chayote (a green vegetable which produces a fruit and an edible root), and fruit trees, including lime and anone, are raised in the house yard. Tomatoes, fruit, and cabbages are bought in neighboring market towns.

434 592 171 In comparison with household consumption expenditures in the United States and other foreign countries, these budgets show a much higher proportion of cash income spent on food. The percentages of food expenditures range from 63.2 to 97.0 in the families studied, whereas in the United States the average percentage is only 26.3, in Argentina 59.2, and in Zambia 66.5 (Conference Board Economic Almanac 1967). This reflects the fact that the people of Tzo'ontahal have no expenses for house rental, that wood for fuel and light is available in communally owned forests, and that most of the household utensils such as jars, jugs, and bowls, are locally produced. However, failure to report items must also be noted—no [125] one reported purchasing matches although everyone uses them, and only half of the families reported use of soap, although this is universally purchased.

433 241 A gross estimate of the land necessary to fulfill consumption needs of corn for a family of two adults and four children would be approximately one and a half to two hectares. The yearly average consumption of corn for such a family is about 2,000 kilograms. One hectare produces from 1,200 to 2,000 kilograms in addition to 80 kilograms of beans. Of the 299 families whose land ownership is given in Table 5, 142 have only one hectare of ejido land and 85 more have only one-half additional hectare of privately owned land. This means that 227 households, or 61 percent do not 423 433 have enough land to meet their subsistence needs. 160 household heads

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have recently sought additional lands in the ejido of Brindis to meet these minimal requirements. This preference for expanding subsistence agriculture to hiring out as laborers is the best index to the persistence of traditional economic pursuits.

Farmers who do not have a cash crop in wheat may be forced to sell corn even when there is no surplus. Because they usually need the cash as soon as they harvest their crop, they must sell when the prices are low. Thus their consumption needs exacerbate the disadvantage they face in the market.

Clothing, whether traditional or modern in style, requires cash outlays. Women have kept the traditional costume while men are modifying their clothing. Even when they go to hot country, older women wear the heavy cotton skirt bound with a thick sash and topped by an embroidered blouse; some younger women have adopted the long cotton dirndl skirt and peasant blouse. A white cotton shawl is added for ceremonial events or for warmth in the evening. All of their clothing is either bought or made of materials woven on looms in Comitán or San Bartolomé. The navy blue skirt, which they say is black, and the red and yellow sash are sold for 40 to 50 pesos by Ladina vendors who come to town. The blouse is made from two meters of heavy white cotton sold in the local stores or in Teopisca and San Cristóbal. Most prefer the more expensive cotton woven on bed looms in San Bartolomé, but it is not always available. They embroider the wide bands of yellow and red around the neckline with embroidery floss sold in the local store. The fringed shawl from Comitán is also sold locally, but is often purchased during the annual fiestas in the town. These items are replaced every two or three years, depending on the wealth of the family. The newer clothing is worn on ceremonial occasions, and the older clothing is worn every day. Women wear sandals and hats for protection only when they are firing pottery. For jewelry they wear bead necklaces, sometimes with crosses attached. Their hair is braided with ribbons for fiestas, or simply left hanging when they work.

Men buy a woolen jacket called *ḳotonču*, which is brought illegally from the Department of Huehuetenango, Guatemala, where it is made,

of what seeds grow best in which soils. Good, fast-growing seed is not sowed indiscriminately but is limited to use on more fertile irrigated lands. The size of a family's holdings is the primary factor in deciding what proportion of the three major crops—corn, beans, and wheat—they will grow. Where they grow each of these crops depends upon the quality of the soil categorized by topological criteria, consistency, color, and proved fertility. Decline in productivity is attributed to wearing out of soil fertility because of overuse as well as to loss of the soul of crops. The first explanation leads to adaptive behavior, in which the land is "rested" or turned over to cattle grazing, and to crop rotation, alternating wheat and corn crops. The second explanation leads to adjustive behavior in which the agriculturalist takes care of ceremonial obligations to the saints and to the "owner of the milpa."

The scheduling of activities is determined by the knowledge of time required for maturing of the crop and by expectations concerning seasonal fluctuations as they affect rainfall. Although the farmers have some control over water supply through irrigation, dependence on rainfall for the non-irrigated fields means that sporadic appeals to the ancestors or saints are made to ensure rain in the growing period. These rituals are not as integrated in the agricultural production cycle as they are in the neighboring towns of Chamula and Oxchuk or in the colonia of San Vicente where irrigation facilities are lacking.

Traditional techniques of pottery production are maintained by a tightly organized schema of procedures which allows for little variation in technique or form. Learning of productive techniques is facilitated by a fine segmentation of tasks. Knowledge of local clays and tempering has been stabilized for at least five hundred years of occupation in this area. Women's work is entirely lacking in rituals to ensure the success of their efforts.

These given sets of cognitive orientations in economic activities do not exclude the possibility of considering new ways or means of doing things. Agriculturalists have tried the new seed introduced by agronomists, but have found them wanting in their resistance to mold, in the case of corn, and in their portability, in the case of wheat. Fertilizers have been tried, but the credit costs proved too high for the agriculturalists to continue. Women were willing to try a kiln in place of open firing, but either the model introduced was faulty or they were not taught to use it properly.

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Chapter 3

New Economic Activities

43 The role of the Indian in the regional and national economy is being
44 shaped more and more by supralocal institutions in public and private en-
177 terprises. The Indians of Tzo?ontahal have mobilized their own resources
178 to incorporate these opportunities. In this they reveal a selective perception of the economic and social advantages of innovation and a tendency to translate form and function into a local idiom. The success of planning at national or regional levels depends upon incorporation of projects at local levels, while the survival of the local group depends upon acceptance of
178 the new opportunities to absorb rising populations.
177 The major institutional settings in which innovation is occurring are
• 423 (1) the ejido program, (2) employment in agricultural and nonagricul-
464 tural enterprises outside of the community, and (3) economic enterprises
43 originating within the community. My discussion of the economic potential of the local community to adapt to change will be organized in terms of these settings.

The Economic Potential of the Ejido

423 Mexico's ejido program, as one of the oldest and most extensive attempts at land reform in the hemisphere, provides a basis for assessing the economic potential of such programs. Here I shall consider only the effects of ejido administration in the community and what this case illustrates of the potential for development in the future.

Manuel Giraul (quoted in de la Peña 1951:327) summarizes the negative effects of the ejido program:

> In Mexico, the ejido system constitutes an institutionalized block to the reform of the social and economic structure; it corresponds to a

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highly stratified primitive society, which remains static: it lacks the flexibility and mobility that exists in modern societies.

The history of the ejido program in Tzo?ontahal in the first few years after it was organized in 1937 seemed to confirm this conclusion. Its immediate effect was to block the flow of labor and goods in the regional and national markets. The ejidatarios were no longer forced to sell their labor at the prevailing rate of 25 cents a day, a wage which was not enough to supply the needs of even one man much less those of a household. Children and women formerly had to work with their husbands in the coffee fincas in order to meet their most immediate consumption needs. The independence that the ejido tract gave meant that men could withhold their own labor and that of the subordinate members of the family from such exploitation. The second harvests coming from the ejido plots in low country freed the Indians from having to buy corn in July, August, and September at the inflated market prices which took advantage of the scarcity of this basic necessity.

The political effect of the ejido in the early days was to fortify the corporate community against the shocks of the outside world. The first lands acquired were primarily allotments of corporate lands alienated by the laws of 1856 and 1876. Populations remained in situ, whether they were foreign Indians working on the expropriated estates, or residential communities created in the sixteenth century as crown towns.

The township of Amatenango acquired its first ejido land grant in 1937. One of the early promoters of the ejido, a *revestido* Indian (one who has adopted western clothing) from Huistán who had been a laborer on one of the fincas within the township limits, threatened to become a rural *cacique,* or local boss, comparable to those who emerged from the agrarian revolt in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). This leader was elected president, but during his term of office he was expelled because of his attempt to secure house plots in the center for himself and other Huistecan Indians residing in the barrio of Yetawitz (Chapter 9).

The stabilizing effects of the ejido in its earlier phase have been upset in recent years. As the population of the center expanded, new families migrated to the nearby barrios contiguous to the town center. These new set-

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0423 tlements were assigned to one of the two sections of the division in the
621 center with an attempt being made to maintain a demographic balance.
166 Incorporation of the new settlements was more effective in the case of the barrios than in the case of the colonias, which were farther away from the town center and included Indians of diverse communities. The process of
175 breaking away from the old community is illustrated by the 1961 move for
423 independence made by the original settlers of the colonia of Caralampio.
621 The following account was given by a man who was then secretary of the
661 ejido:
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The first settlers of San Caralampio, José, Pablo, Luciano, and Santos were self-appointed principales, *or head men, of the colony. Santos and Luciano were from the town center, and José and Pablo had worked on the ranch when it was privately owned. The colony was well populated and the people lived well—there were no fights nor any problems. In 1956 the four principales decided that they should separate from the center. They told the people that if each person would contribute twenty-five pesos, they would raise the issue of the division in the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *José invited Mateo, a man who knew how to read and write, to help them.*

"Let's divide from the town so that we alone will run the colony," he told them.

The principales took the money contributed and went to Tuxtla. There, in the Liga de Communidad Agraria *they asked for the separation, and were referred to the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *When they arrived there with their request, the commissioner said that he would have to communicate with the chief in Mexico.*

After this, Pablo came one day to the center. He spoke to the ejido commission: "Look here, José, Luciano and Mateo went to Tuxtla."

"What for?" asked the ejido president.

"They asked for a division from the town."

"Que pendejo!" *said the president. "What happened?"*

"What do you think?" asked Pablo.

"We are against it. If it was a new center, we would support you. But

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we are against division," said the president. "How much did you have to contribute?" he asked Pablo.

"Twenty-five pesos. They told us if we do not give money, we will be thrown out of the colonia."

We advised him that it would be better not to continue giving money to the principales. "You can't make this division," we told him.

One Sunday all the pueblo united in a mass meeting. Everyone was present. People asked about the affair of San Caralampio, and the Ejido Commission explained to them what had happened. The people said, "Let's get rid of them [the four principales of San Caralampio]."

When the three principales returned to San Caralampio from Tuxtla they asked each household head to contribute fifty pesos in order to send them to Mexico to talk personally with the Chief of the Ejido Division. Pablo came the next day to talk to the president in the center and advised them that the principales had gone out. There was another meeting. The president's decision was to get a contribution of one peso from each person in the center so that they would have six hundred pesos to prevent the division. They feared that if this occurred the people of the center couldn't work down there.

When the leaders of the central Ejido Commission had received the money, they went to the departmental capital to explain to the chief of the ejido zone what had happened. They said that the leaders of the colonia had gone to Mexico.

"Let's to go work!" said the chief. "Did you bring the money?"

"Yes, we have six hundred pesos."

"Go to the bank and change it into one-hundred-peso bills," said the chief. "Let us send two hundred pesos to the chief of the division in Mexico so that he will prevent the division."

We sent the money airmail. Before the principales of San Caralampio had arrived, we had their way blocked. Our money went to work for us. In five days, the chief in Las Casas said the money had been well received, and the leaders of San Caralampio had not been received.

A week later, Pablo came to see how the affair had proceeded. We asked Pablo if he had contributed money. He said no. We told him,

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"Don't give any more money. The Ejido Commission won't let the division happen since we are the same pueblo."

The four principales returned from Mexico. They said that they had a paper and that an engineer would come. They asked for another contribution of 25 pesos. They said that those who wouldn't pay would be thrown out. Pablo came and told us. We told him not to be afraid. The principales now knew that Pablo was with us. He had two brothers, Pancho and Ignacio, whom he advised not to go along with the principales since he knew that they would not win the case. When the principales returned to ask for more money for their trips to Tuxtla, both brothers refused.

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Since these three brothers did not cooperate, the principales got angry and decided to kill Pablo. One day, when Pablo was on his way to Teopisca, he was shot in the back. He continued riding 76 meters. The horse returned to his house. His wife ran to tell his two brothers that the horse had come home without a rider. The brothers ran out and found Pablo dead. The civil authorities of the town went. A few days passed. The brothers never asked for justice. But since they knew who did it, one of them took Pablo's 16-centimeter rifle. Pablo's wife had been thinking of selling it to pay for the expenses of the funeral. Pancho [Pablo's brother] said, "No wait. I will buy it as soon as I have money."

He borrowed it for several years. One Sunday there was an order for all of the people of San Caralampio to go to the pueblo. They got up early and wakened all the others with a horn. Pancho got up with his rifle. He went to Juan's house and shot him. Luciano had Pancho jailed in the department capitol. He declared his crime, and said that he had killed Juan because the latter had shot his brother. He made a good statement. For this reason, he got out very cheaply—1500 pesos—which he paid with his crop of beans and corn. He was in prison in San Caralampio three months. Now he lives in Teopisca. His sons go to work there, but he doesn't. One day, Pancho was shot in the back—I don't know how many centimeters the bullet penetrated, but he did not die. The brothers of Juan and José have all left the colonia.

José was the one who caused all of the trouble. His wife was the younger sister of Pablo and she left him. Now José is going around begging for food to eat.

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The action of the Ejido Commission of the town reveals the knowledge of how to manipulate political and economic power. By sending the 200-peso bribe, they were able to block the independence movement before the leadership had arrived. The extreme tactics used by the independence leaders in killing their opponents approximates the kind of political homicide characteristic of the central plateau (Friedrich 1962). The Indians of the center have been able to maintain their ejido grants intact. However, the political discrimination against residents of both colonias and barrios—no resident of either (except for the Huistecan mentioned above) has been elected president, and they never serve in any post higher than that of assistant judge—will undoubtedly lead to further unrest as the populations expand.

Bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption minimize the potential effectiveness of the ejido organization at local, state, and national levels. Projects undertaken by the national government lose their effectiveness when they are promoted by fraudulent claims, taking advantage of the presumed illiteracy and ignorance of the peasantry. The following case illustrates both the tactics of the ejido agents and the countertactics of the local Indians, resulting in a stalemate in the development projects planned and projected at the national level.

In August, two years ago, the Ejido Bank agents came to town with an offer to lend money on crops. We didn't want to borrow it, but Francisco, carbrón! [*then president of the town*], *said we should do it. "Good," we said. We accepted their terms. They said, "We will give fertilizer. It won't cost you a cent. We have tried it. It will give a good crop. We will give you money every six months, and you will pay the interest of nine percent. We will pay for all the costs. It won't cost you anything for the fertilizer."*

In six months, when the bank agents came to get the interest, they charged us six hundred pesos for the fertilizer. We did not want to receive the second load of fertilizer. We presented our case to the Jefe *and told him, "Why did you say it would not cost anything?" He replied, "No,* muchacho [*boy*], *I told you* [*using the familiar form* te dije] *that the fertilizer is going to cost."*

We used seven bags of fertilizer on each hectare for which they charged

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tional economy and polity at a more rapid pace than has ever occurred in the past. Typical of this new movement is the recently established ejido of Brindis, formed by a core of landless Indians from the town working with acculturated Indians from Teopisca. Whether the political unity which has developed in the course of establishing their claim to the land will continue to provide a base for community development will depend on the encouragement and support by national institutions.

Within Indian communities of highland Chiapas, the ejido program has weakened age-authority principles in the family and in the civil hierarchy (Day n.d., Edel n.d.). Sons are no longer primarily dependent on their fathers for acquiring economic independence. Ejido Commission leaders have broken the monopoly of power by a gerontocracy of principales. Outside of the community, however, the political and economic potential of the ejido has not yet been fully realized. As the new ejidos such as Brindis develop, they may break the old community boundaries that contained and limited the power of the ejidatarios. With rising literacy, many Indians now read the *Codigo Agraria* sold in neighboring markets, and they are increasingly conscious of their rights. If unity across township boundaries could be achieved, the new ejidos might become an effective political force in regional and national spheres.

Wage Labor and Occupational Specialties

The agriculturalists of the community do work as both exchange and paid laborers in the following forms: reciprocal exchange, part time labor and part-time independent agricultural work, and forestry.[1] Wage work is considered only a supplement to independent self-employment for all but twenty agricultural employees who work full-time on a finca within the township.

Payments for agricultural labor within the community are lower than the prevailing rate outside of the town and are higher in the fincas of hot country than in the highlands. When men work on the fincas of landowners in the neighboring township, they prefer payment by the task (*tarea*) rather than by the day, since they can usually complete two tareas by

1. See Richard N. Adams (1964:48) for a discussion of the forms of rural labor.

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When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron-client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enterprises.

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operating the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy.

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An earlier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s:

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful operation of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold.

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy directed against individuals and permitting some increase in productive efforts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consumption standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors,

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602 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative
476 labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups
626 in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

Conditions	*Within household*	*Beyond household, within community*	
		With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)	*With nonkin*
Interchange	"Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings	Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations	Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition
Sanctions	Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group	Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder	Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts
Time Span	Extended, indefinite	Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for nonrepeated tasks (housebuilding)	Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance
Kind of Task	Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food	Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding	Same.

593 Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned
476 property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since
423 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative
621 tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well
[606] together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become independent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to
476 cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and
342 threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must
607 pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.
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Chapter 7

The Formal Organization of Local Government

The formal organization of civil and religious offices in Tzo'ontahal is based on the pattern of a locally independent, democratically elected officialdom introduced by the Spaniards. Variations in the pattern from that of other towns of the highlands have resulted from differences of interpretation of the functions, the range of power, and the course of succession of offices. This flexibility has preserved structural continuity as organizational adjustments are made. The Indians have transformed an alien governing mechanism into one that meets their changing needs and contributes to their independence in the modern world.

The independence of the local township has a base in the pre-Conquest social organization of Chiapas. Robert Adams (1961:347) has noted the absence of architectural or other features indicative of functional specialization that would arise in a politically integrated region. At the time of the Conquest, Chiapas was divided into warring principalities, revealing the extreme political fragmentation of the area (Calnek 1962:8). Each town was divided from the neighboring town by *mojones*, hilled-up boundaries (ibid:36). A minimum of political unity was achieved by holding certain towns subject to the dominance of others (ibid:27); local autonomy persisted, however, in the administration of landholding as a community enterprise.

During the colonial period the Spanish Crown established the independence of towns directly under their control and provided them with a civil-religious hierarchy which has persisted as the form of government to the present (Carrasco 1961: Wolf 1957b).

Comparative studies of the civil-religious hierarchy indicate the range of

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TABLE 25. Number of Civil and Religious Offices of Household Heads over 50 Years of Age as Related to Wealth

Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
54	3	4	5	3
55	3	8	2	3
65	3	11	6	2
50	2½	2	4	4
75	2½	4	6	6
55	2	8	2	4
55	2		4	3
60	2	2	2	4
65	2		6	6
75	2	7	4	3
78	2	6	2	1
50	2½	2	3	4
50	1½	2	6	5
55	1½	6	2	6
58	1½		1	2
60	1½		6	6
60	1½	4	4	4
60	1½	8	4	5
80	1½		4	5
88	1½	7	6	6
50	1	10	2	3
50	1	1	3	3
54	1	4	6	6
54	1	4	6	6
55	1	6	2	3
56	1	4	3	3
58	1		5	4
60	1	1	5	6
60	1	2	5	6
60	1	2	4	6
65	1	2	3	
65	1		6	6
65	1		3	3
70	1		1	1
75	1		5	5
79	1		5	5
80	1	2	3	
80	1	22	3	1
85	1	6	6	6

Age of household head	Wealth: Land in hectares	Wealth: Head of cattle	No. of civil offices	No. of religious offices
55	½		2	2
55	½		2	2
55	½	2	2	3
60	½		2	3
60	½		1	3
60	½		4	3
62	½	1	2	3
65	½		2	3
65	½	4	4	6
65	½		6	5
75	½		5	6
87	½		4	4

from six to five. The reason given for this is that there are more people now than formerly.

The second course of civil careers is to serve as síndico and go on to president, bypassing the intermediate and lower posts of the hierarchy and never filling the higher traditional posts. Of seven who have served as president, two served as síndico, two had no previous office, and three had been both policeman and síndico (Table 25). None of the former presidents served in any civil post after being president. Two served as fiscal in their religious careers and had had no other religious service. This is the course pursued by literate men who speak Spanish well. An alternative course is to enter the ejido commission as secretary, treasurer, or president and then serve as síndico, or even directly as president. The president elected in 1964 had served only on the ejido commission. This caused some discontent, but not enough to prevent his election.

The household head enters religious office first as *nič'nal* or junior mayordomo, then serves as *?ali?bal*, or assistant, next as *tatil*, or elder mayordomo of a lesser saint. The fourth position is tatil of San Pedro, after which comes *kobraria*, or cofrade, first of San Francisco, then of Santa Lucía or Sacramento. Following his appointment as tatil of San Pedro, the incumbent holds the first gathering of mayordomos in his house. When he completes his term in this office, he may be called upon by neighbors, relatives, and compadres to serve as nakawane in household ceremonials. He

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In the strategy of incorporating new leadership, these tactics are employed.

1. The four regidores are assigned the task of bringing the novice scribe to the town authorities. They are the official recruiters for civil and religious office.

2. The request is made to the parent of the appointed scribe in the formal speech of the pat?o?tan. The appeal is cast in terms of the sacred nature of the task with reference to the "holy" nature of the post to be undertaken on this "holy hour, holy day and holy year."

3. The contractual relationship is initiated as always with a drinking session. The scribe is introduced into the drinking order as fourth in rank. The officials show solicitude as he is taught to drink "the gift of the gods and the ancestors." Once the gift of liquor has been accepted, the recipient has no recourse except to fulfill the obligation.

These tactics, used also in other contractual arrangements, were inadequate to the task of inducting foreign Indians living in the township into the traditional hierarchy. In 1929, a Huistecan Indian, Augustín, who had worked as a laborer in a finca within the township, became president. Although he could not read, he was able to speak Spanish fluently. He succeeded in getting the first ejido grant under the land reform act of 1927.

During his term of office, Augustín was accused of abusing his authority on several occasions, as the following account shows:

When I was very young, my father told me about this land case. Augustín was president then. He tried to get land from my uncle's father-in-law, Juan. My uncle, Bartolo, defended his father-in-law's right to the land because he had good friends in Tuxtla. Augustín spoke Spanish very well, but he did not know how to read. Since my uncle knew how to read well, he gained the case. Augustín was angry. He invited all the curers to the town hall and ordered the police to bring in my uncle. My uncle was given something in a cup of liquor, and in three days he died.

Even if this story is untrue, or distorted because of the family relationship of the narrator and the victim, it reveals the sense of being exploited

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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witz had formed a small *cacicazgo* (supporters of a cacique) of armed men. Because of their influence with departmental officials since the land grant, they had secured an order to reassign lots in the center, putting one family from Yetawitz in each block. The reaction of the townspeople to this "invasion" of barrio Indians was immediate and conclusive, as Ceferino's account reveals:

The owners of the house lots here objected to having their lots seized. They went to a lawyer in San Cristóbal, and they also had the help of the professor here. He was a good professor. We walked with the professor. The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles. The people from Yetawitz went to another lawyer in San Cristóbal. They got an order that the people of the pueblo would have to admit the people of Yetawitz. We returned to the lawyer. He asked where these people were from. We said they were from Huistán. They were well armed. Because of this, we went to take over their arms.

When we arrived at their house, Juan asked, "What are you here for?"

We answered, "We came to get your rifles."

They refused to give them up, but we seized their property. We tied up the men and carried them up to the pueblo. We dragged them like dogs up to the jail and put them in.

They asked, "Why are you putting us in jail?" and we answered, "Tomorrow we will arrange the case."

Four police stayed there. The next morning I came to see them. They had planned to go to Las Casas, but we ordered the saddles taken off the horses that were in readiness. We tried them, and they no longer bothered the pueblo.

The Huistecan's attempt to seize power reveals several significant factors in the genesis of cummunity political institutions. In the 1930s in Chiapas, the land reform act of 1927 was taking effect. Translation of law into reality in the local community required the drive and leadership of the Indians themselves. Literacy and Spanish-speaking skills were of even greater importance than before. The Indians of the center who had not been forced to work in the fincas and who had sufficient resources to resist contact with the outside economy were not in a position to take a leader-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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ship role in the new political setting. As a result, it was the marginal Indians, outsiders who had come as did Augustín to work as *baldíos* (laborers) on the finca near the town, that were the drivng force behind the demand for land. This was the basis for the new leadership in the early days of land reform. The ejido program, conceived of by Cárdenas as a basis for political development of the campesinos, (Brandenburg 1964) gave these marginal Indians the opportunity to rise to positions of influence in local government. The reluctance of the townspeople to take action against Augustín derived in part from fear, since he reputedly backed his use of force with witchcraft—the imported kind of witchcraft in which poisons are used instead of spiritual force.

Ceferino, the man who finally deposed Augustín, was a member of the traditional community, but because he had been impoverished by burying four members of his family in the typhoid epidemic of 1928, he had been forced to work in the fincas. There he had learned Spanish and some of the ways of the dominant society. His leadership potential had developed in the role of *caporal*, or gang leader of the pickers in the coffee finca, and he had been a leader in the trek of recruited laborers down to the fincas in Soconusco. Under the old authority structure, in which all officials including the president were recruited through the hierarchy, he would never have reached a prestigious position. But in this crisis, he was the only man willing to confront the incumbent and take over the operation of civil affairs.

Ceferino did not take advantage of the situation to emerge as a cacique himself. As he explained in his narrative, "The pueblo was united. We did not have fear. We were in accord with the principles." The way in which he had been introduced into the cabildo as scribe had successfully neutralized his own ambitions to attain power, if he had any. He accepted the ideal of a united pueblo, recognizing the authority of the principales.

The increasing scope and frequency of relationships between the nation and the locality since the revolution has emphasized the roles of president and síndico at the expense of the authority and control exercised by the principales. The ceremonial significance of the principales in rituals is retained as a symbol of continuity in the change of officials, but their func-

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building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Chapter 13

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

Continuity is the theme stressed in the rules of the game that apply to living in the square world of the community. The framework of continuity is the landscape itself with the ancestral hills and devils' caves reminding people of the moral order of the past. Repetitive behavior in rituals symbolically projects the past into the future, and behavioral schema in pottery and agricultural production reinforce the belief that all remains the same. The conditions making for change stem from the very attempts to preserve the existing equilibrium. A rising population on a limited land base using colonial techniques of cultivation is bringing about an increasing reliance on outside markets for the sale of labor and the purchase of goods. The ejido program which has perpetuated the system of subsistence cultivation has at the same time increased the dependency on external political influence and undermined dependency on parents. Some of the rules of strategy that have developed in response to changes coming from outside the community can no longer be justified by the beliefs that govern behavior within its boundaries. The community is now in crisis: people are losing faith in the old beliefs and have not yet developed a meaningful ideology for new strategies.

The crisis does not affect all institutions equally. It is absent in the traditional economic activities of milpa cultivation and pottery production. It is incipient in the households, especially where there are wage-workers in nonagricultural jobs. It is more apparent in the civil than in the religious sphere, and it is most manifest in the new economic activities. The school, as an externally imposed institution, generates awareness of the conflict between old beliefs and the ideology of nationalism, but until recently receptivity to these ideas has been limited. The behavior described for each in-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose. 128

Economic Activities

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Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment.

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Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines.

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Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops.

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In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive

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361 The central plaza contains the Church, the local government offices, [366] the school and the National Indian Institute (INI) cooperative [368] store (see below), in Amatenango this list being increased by the INI clinic. Around these plazas (open squares) the houses are relatively concentrated, the population density is high and the size of the sitio (a household plot) small. (There are about seven or eight sitios in a block one hectare in size.) Toward the margins of the town the houses thin out, being surrounded by milpas. Well established family groups live toward the center, while newcomers, poorer families and deviants live toward the [006] periphery. Sitios within the center are highly valued in both communities, the outskirts of the town being closer to the unknown dangers of the monte (hill and forest) with its malevolent spirits (animal souls of witches in the search of victims, owners of the caves, etc.).

361 Surrounding the villages one finds the communal grass 311 lands for pasture and the irrigated milpas. The grass lands and 212 the water source for the milpas de regadío (irrigated corn fields) 423 are shared by both villages, although Amatenango makes use of the water first, since the stream flows through Amatenango before it reaches the Aguacatenango lands.

311 Towards the hill slopes the milpas de temporal (corn fields depending on seasonal rain) are planted in scattered small groups, fenced together against the invasion of cattle;[1] and alternating with forested patches.

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[1] See footnote 1, p. 17.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

The Social Setting of the Villages

Introduction

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121/ The villages of Aguacatenango and Amatenango can best be described as corporate peasant communities, following Eric Wolf (1955: 452-71).

First of all, the villages are small, independent social systems, with clearly defined geographic and social boundaries, "in relation to both outsiders and insiders" (Wolf, 1955:456).

The Land

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423 In the spatial dimension, the main characteristic of the villages is that they lay claim to a territory, a land base over which they hold exclusive rights of usufruct, and which has clearly demarked geographical dimensions. The rights over this territory are communal rights, every villager being a co-owner of the community territory, in the sense that membership in the village gives to a man the rights of usufruct of land within the village boundaries.

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[174] We do not know what the characteristic features of the pre-hispanic land tenure system of the Tzeltal-Tzotzils were. At the beginning of the Spanish occupation of the area, the Indians were relocated in villages and assigned to a particular encomendero and encomienda. (The encomienda was an institution by which a Spanish lord was assigned a number of villagers from whom he had the right to collect services and tribute.) At the same time, the villages were allotted land of two kinds: municipal, administered by the town officials and used to pay taxes and tribute to

the encomendero and the Church; and communal, which contained the woodland, pasture, and the site of the village itself.

> Several considerations may have promoted [the Spanish] Crown policy toward [the creation of] such communities. First, the corporate community performing joint labor services for an overlord was a widespread characteristic of European economic feudalism. In trying to curtail the political power of a potential new landholding class in the Spanish colonies the Crown took over management of Indian communities in order to deny the conquerors direct managerial control over labor. The Crown attempted to act as a go-between and labor contractor for both peasant community and landowner. Second, the corporate community fitted well into the political structure of the Spanish dynastic state, which attempted to incorporate each sub-cultural group and to define its radius of activity by law. This enables the Crown to marshal the resources of such a group as an organized unit, and to impose its economic, social and religious controls by a type of indirect rule. Third, the corporate structure of the peasant communities permitted the imposition of communal as well as individual burdens of forced labor and taxation. (Wolf, 1955:457.)

Independent Mexico inherited from the Spanish Empire these communities, and although at some time or other modifications of the over-all political structure have been proposed, the communities have persisted through the last century with basically the same makeup, and without having changed much in terms of their social structure or their cultural content.

In other areas of Mexico where urbanization and a more industrial society has developed, or where it was possible to mechanize agriculture, the corporate community quickly gave way to new forms of social organization. But in Chiapas, especially in the highlands, a definitely marginal area in terms of national development, very few large scale changes have been introduced, and most of them have been rapidly assimilated into the local structure, rather than transforming it.

The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards

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The rights over land given to the villages by the Spaniards were not contested by the Mexican Government, but during the last century there have been some redistributions of the boundaries to better fit changes in the size of the population of the different villages in the area. Besides, although it was not legally approved, large chunks of the territory of the communities were taken away by the local ranchers who had the backing of the state politicians. As a result of the land invasion by the ranchers, the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango controlled, until recently in this century, very little land, mostly temporal, the better land being in the hands of the local ladino ranchers. After the Mexican Revolution of the twenties, the fincas (ranches) were expropriated by the national government, according to new policies of agrarian reform, and under the presidential regime of Avila Camacho were returned to the villages as Ejidos (cooperatively owned land).

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The territory of the villages is divided today, by use, into land for agriculture (?ulabal [irrigated], pomultik [hot-country] and temporal), land for residential sites, and land for lumbering and pasture. Within the communities the over-all authority that controls land is the Ayuntamiento, the body which forms the civil branch of the civil-religious government that is the ultimate authority in village affairs. The Ayuntamiento controls both the communal lands and the Ejido lands.

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The Ejidos function very much like the communal lands, in that they are "owned" by the community. Every household head is a member of the ejido cooperative, and has rights to cultivate a parcel within the ejido. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code,

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423 621 the Ejido should be administered by a Commission, the head of which is the Comisario Ejidal. In Amatenango and Aguacatenango, however, there is no distinction between the administration of the communal lands and the ejido parcels. Although there is a Comisario Ejidal, he is usually a young man whose word can be overruled by the Ayuntamiento with whom he must work in agreement, and although the position of Comisario does not count in the escalafón of the civil-religious hierarchy for seniority rights, the post has been informally assimilated into the Ayuntamiento officerships.

Through the legal assignment of a limited territory for each village, the size of the land owned by the community has been, at the moment, frozen. The community lands can neither be expanded, nor alienated from it, except under very special circumstances defined by law.

[642] Under the Mexican Agrarian Code only the State can reclaim land from the community, and only under special conditions: need to establish urban centers, means of communication, and the constructions of hydraulic works for public benefit. Of these, only the second is likely to occur at the present time in this rural, marginal area, which has no modern urban center, little water supply, and a scarcity of good land, so that the construction of a dam is not worth undertaking.

On the other hand, community lands can be expanded for cultivation in three ways:

1) Buying land from nearby fincas, which now cannot be expropriated because they are within the size limits of inalienable property (propiedad inafectable) set up by the government.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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621 2) Extending the rights of usufruct in the already available communal lands which are still covered with timber.

3) Petitioning the Ejido Commission if there are more than twenty individuals without parcels. In this case, the Ejido Commission is responsible for providing land by seeking further expropriation of large latifundios. This, again, is not likely to occur, because the size of the surrounding private properties is smaller, now, than the maximum size permitted by law, and cannot be reclaimed. Many finqueros, in other areas, have large properties which they have managed to keep untouched by registering the land in the name of several family members with separate ownership titles, so each one is smaller than the size permitted by law (Montagu, 1960). If necessary, the government could claim that this practice is illegal. But in the valleys of Aguacatenango and Amatenango this type of finca does not exist, being common only in the more fertile lowland territories such as the area of Ocosingo.

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628 Some communities in the Chiapas highlands have been expanding their territories by invading the lands of bordering villages, the best example of this being the Chamulas into Huistec land, north of San Cristóbal de las Casas (Pozas, 1959). But in Amatenango and Aguacatenango, although from time to time they have had conflict over the exact boundaries of their territories with other neighboring villages (Pinola, for example), this type of
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621 expansion has not occurred. The demands for parcels by the villagers can be met from the already available land because of the

423 621 recent grants of land, and also because the whole region of Amatenango and Aguacatenango has less population pressure than the overpopulated Chamula area.

Membership

621 In the social dimension, one of the basic features of the corporate communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their criteria for membership: to become a member of Amatenango of Aguacatenango one has to be born in the village, or marry a village member.

Contractual membership, although rare, may occur, and has, but only for Indians, and with concensual acceptance by the whole [166] [175] community. When the nearby fincas were closed after the Mexican Revolution, some of the Indian peones attached to them asked for and obtained land from Amatenango and Aguacatenango and became full members of these communities with the same rights and duties as any other community member. Although people can indicate who is a member of a new or old family, this distinction tends to be forgotten, even by the families themselves, after the next generation has been born and married into the village.

628 621 423 [651] A man from another Indian community may receive an agricultural plot if he makes a petition to the Ayuntamiento, is willing to pay the ejido taxes and the limosna (tax levied against the household heads to support the expenses of celebration of village holidays) and a small payment to the Ayuntamiento (20 pesos) for handling his case. Even then, he has to bring witnesses to testify

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423 to his good conduct, plus demonstrate that he is not able to cultivate within the confines of his own village lands.

621
423 Membership in the community requires residence within its territorial boundaries. If a person moves away from the village
166 he loses the attached rights of membership, although at his return he can claim such rights back.

621 Maintenance of membership involves clearly specified duties (e.g., paying communal taxes), and the general obligation of living and acting in agreement with the cultural norms.

Government

All the male members of the community, ideally, and most of them in practice, participate (at some time in their lives) in the government machinery of the village.

621
794 Amatenango and Aguacatenango each have two governmental bodies, the Ayuntamiento (or civil body) and the Mayordomias (or religious body). (The distinction between civil and religious is not a sharp one drawn by the community members themselves. It is an analytical device to label the different functions of these two bodies which are clearly separate and require different skills on the part of the incumbents.)

621 The Ayuntamiento deals with secular matters: it administers the land, the relations with the outside world and the village taxations, and is in charge of the maintenance of social control through the application of the native system of justice (as against, and separate from, National or State Mexican law; see Metzger, D., 1956). Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

621 Among its duties are those of keeping vital statistics for
659 the National Population Bureau which are sent to the state office,
solving cases of adultery and theft, collecting the fiesta and
Ejido taxes, keeping the streets clean, building and repairing
roads and public buildings, and also taking charge of the local
jail. Ayuntamiento officers are also called in to prevent or solve
witchcraft cases and give advice and reprimands to misbehaving
wives, sons and other relatives when the household or the responsible
relatives cannot deal with the case on their own.

621
423 The Ayuntamiento also keeps its own corn field, worked by
432 communal labor, whose crop is sold to collect funds for its own
434 expenses.

794 The Mayordomia, or religious body, performs the formal activities on the religious holidays, is the custodian of the sacred objects (rockets, church keys, bells) connected with the Church, and the authority which carries out the tasks required by all of man's peaceful relations with the supernatural on the village level.

They are responsible as a group for the upkeep of the Church building and saint images, and the preparations for and the performance of Church Fiestas, regular church meetings, etc. Among their duties are those of providing meals for the priest while he is in town, helping during mass, contracting musicians and collecting the Church limosna during mass.

621 This structural level lacks monopoly of either of these functions in relation to other less inclusive social units. Social control and religious activity are carried on at the level of the barrio, the extended family, and within the household, and religious activity can be carried on by individuals.

621 the outside world, from which, from the community point of view, come the threats to the individual Indian, his family and to the village as a unit.

The mechanisms employed for the preservation of the village as an Indian corporate community are the wealth leveling devices and the sanctioning system described below.

556 Economic Mechanisms

The villagers aim at a better subsistence level, but not at capital reinvestment, and wealth does not command prestige in [433] itself. Extreme wealth differences are not likely to occur because, on the one hand, the marginality of land limits the productive power of the villager, and the low level technology: machete, digging stick, and wooden plow (the last only used in the 621 flat bottom land) limits production and also capital increase. On • 423 the other hand, accumulation of land is limited by the Ayuntamiento having control of the ultimate disposal of free land within the community. Therefore, although there is some variation in the amount or variety of land held by a family, for the community as a whole there is a clear tendency toward an equalitarian distribution of parcels, so that in gross terms every household head controls agricultural plots of similar size and quality to every other agriculturalist. (Each household controls land both in cold and hot country, both irrigated and temporal and of equiva- 423 lent quality.) It is difficult to ascertain the size of each 433 particular holding because the people do not think in terms of the size of the parcel itself, but in terms of the amount of grain

423 433 necessary to plant it. In some land more seed is necessary, so a tablón, a measure of how much seed is planted in a parcel, tends to be about a hectare, but can also be irregular in shape or somewhat larger or smaller.

434 Ideological and Sanctioning Mechanisms

Even if a domestic group manages to accumulate profits from the extra work of its members, the forced assumption of fiesta obligations and cargos (Officerships) inhibits capital accumulation and redistributes the profits back into the community in the form of consumable goods: food, alcohol, cohetes, etc. 621 556 The assumption of the cargos requires a certain amount of capital to spend on the expenses attached to the post, so it is likely that a household head who has managed to save some extra money is going to be called to perform his duties as an officer rather than the other men with less wealth and equal qualifications.

621 In terms of economic and political bases for differentiation, then, the communities are egalitarian. Villagers insist that everybody is just like everybody else: "we are all equal, we all follow the customs, we are all poor, we are all agriculturalists, 621 183 we are all Indians, just the same," they say. Nevertheless, they would also admit that some people are good and some "have bad hearts," and therefore would not follow the customs, or would try to become richer by getting involved in economic enterprises which are not Indian (such as buying or selling for high profit, or lending money, or becoming store clerks). They would imitate the Ladinos in their speech, dress or their house layout, become "alzados"

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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621 [595] were the Daughters of Holy Mary and the Daughters of Guadalupe.

[514] Visits to households in the other barrio are rare, and when they do occur they are due to unusual circumstances and are accompanied by formal etiquette. A long discussion was observed in Aguacatenango when the members of a household were debating the "correctness" of going to a house in the other barrio to buy milk for a very sick man. Two days later, the anthropologist was present in the house of the cow owners when the wife of the sick man arrived and asked to buy the milk. The senior woman of the house denied that her cow had any. When the visitor left, it was explained that "milk is money, the Ladino schoolteacher pays better for it, and besides . . . the woman came from the other barrio. . . ." When the Ayuntamiento authorities call the household heads to contribute with communal labor and/or discuss village affairs, it is usual that one barrio will send many and the other barrio relatively fewer delegates, depending on which one is more affected by the outcome of the activities involved.

621 423 The only important difference between the barrio organizations of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is their relation with the land tenure system. In Amatenango, the barrio lands are not separate. In Aguacatenango, although the barrios are not land-holding units in the strict sense of possessing separate titles of ownership, rights of usufruct of the village communal and irrigated lands are held separately by the two barrios, the people of

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each barrio prolonging their cornfields towards "their side." Aguacatenango irrigated land is divided and allocated so that men from one barrio have their plots separate from men from the other barrio, the barrio plots being watered by separate canals.

The same way that the community as a whole holds exclusive titles of ownership and rights of usufruct against other communities, the barrio has a monopoly of certain town lands, over which it holds, if not ownership titles, rights to plant their crops, gather palms for the roofs of the houses and espino for the fences.

In 1956, a group of men from one barrio bought land from a nearby finca (ranch). A month later, the other barrio bought land from another finca owner. The meetings which planned the purchases were closed and maintained in semi-secrecy. There was some conflict over the rights of the "other barrio" to use the pastures included in the new lands of the other, and gossip on the subject lasted almost two years, revealing, once more, the traditional separation between the two village factions.

That the barrio as a land-holding unit is more significant in Aguacatenango should not be a surprise: Aguacatenango is much more dependent on land for its subsistence, since agriculture is the only large-scale productive enterprise of the community. Therefore, conflict and competition for land tends to acquire greater proportions than in Amatenango where people have other important sources of income. One of the ways in which possible conflicts between village factions over land and its products is handled, is by delimiting the territorial rights held by the people who belong to such factions.

592 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men:
593 a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house
591 site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as
592 close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's
602 homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters of domestic groups forming localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not
591 expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do
476 share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact num-
241 ber of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the
417 mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

•423 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man
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423 241 417 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 496 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

593 423 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution 139 of individuals, in most cases a couple depends on the family of the husband for obtaining a house site of their own. Looking at the available data in household transactions, regular sponsorship in the male line appears as the statistical mode, the most frequently followed pattern. To explain the 16 per cent of sponsorship in the female line, we refer the reader to the section 1 of the reasons for uxorilocal residence, p. 133.

TABLE 10

423 AGUACATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Cases	Percentage
House-land bought	22	32
House-land obtained through the husband's relatives	33	49
House-land obtained through the wife's relatives	11	16
Family borrowing the house	2	3
Total number of households for which information was available	68	100

423 432 593 [428] The norms for house sponsorship are not always followed, for other reasons: land within the town, houseplots, is one of the forms of land which has a monetary value in Aguacatenango. Lots are bought and sold for money, and are used constantly as a resource of income when one is in need of a large amount of cash. Ideally, most parents think that they will give contiguous houses to their male sons, and that their house will be inherited by the last male son who stays in the house until his parents' death.[1] In practice, many times the house has to be sold before 423 432

[1] Other property is expected to be inherited in equal shares by all sons.

•423 432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to [764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house [428] is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights over the property if there are no mature sons left by the deceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and will move to their natal households with their children. Some sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the money obtained would be divided among them.

592 591 578 The fission of the compound household into nuclear households is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

593 592 464 562 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maximize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which, in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

593 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter
592 leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land,
464 and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household,
562 nor does it upset its basic economy.
•423

591 The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the
593 patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint ef-
182 fort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's
425 direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is ex-
592 tremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads),
621 but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village.
[593] This, of course, is not the better land, being temporal and far away from the village. Although the temporal land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the Ayuntamiento which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in
593 practice. First, if the Ayuntamiento grants land to a man against
423 his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between
425 the jural rights of the household head and the administrative
578 rights of the Ayuntamiento. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

593 578 histories collected during the field work season, and it well (621) could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain • (423) help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willing- (476) ness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

423 425 464 166 (593) The young man could also obtain land without his father's help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a commodity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

593 62 156 On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

593 592 156 Although it is possible, theoretically, to become economically independent of one's father against his will, in fact a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case [848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 •423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

591 has not inherited land. The other family living in a borrowed
592
• 423 home is a young couple that married without their parents' ap-
426 proval. They eloped and established themselves on the edge of town, in an empty old hut, whose owner does not demand payment. "Borrowings" are temporary arrangements, and as a form of resi-
[583] dence, very unstable. Young couples who decide to elope leave town to reside at Colonia del Puerto. We know of two cases which followed this custom. But if they do not leave town, they try to move to a house on the edge of town. From these two cases, we can assume that borrowing is due to economic reasons (poverty of a family who cannot afford to buy a house), or as a consequence of deviant behavior (in the case we have, the husband was an orphan and parental sponsorship by the wife's parents was denied because they disapproved of the marriage).

361 The edge of town is a refuge area for people who in one
156 way or another "do not belong" to the community. Social deviants,
167 like the young couple mentioned above, tend to move to the town boundaries. Recent migrants from other villages also live on the edges. Two complete blocks on the southern boundary of town are inhabited by a large extended patrilocal family which originated from a Chamula Indian who was a peon on a nearby finca until the agrarian revolution. After he became free, he migrated to the village and married a local Indian woman.

125 The above discussion covers all the cases for which we had sample data. We have, however, information on other cases which could not be counted in the statistics because they were part of life histories or concerned individuals who do not live in

591 only 49 per cent of the women do so (see Table 14). This indi-
593 cates that patrilocal, patrilineal emphasis is stronger, and the
36 difference needs to be explained.

174 It is very possible that the community of Amatenango had,
591 in the near past, patrilocal residence norms, as does Aguacatenango and most communities in the Chiapas Highlands. The patrilocal norms would have been in agreement with the presence of agnatic descent lines of which the only remnant, today, in Amatenango, is the agnatic inheritance of Indian names attached to the Spanish surname of the villagers. If this were so, we could explain the persistence of a patrilocal emphasis in these terms. This is a dangerous enterprise because to accept this explanation is to dismiss the importance of the case by arbitrarily attributing the phenomenon to an historical survival, an intellectual misdemeanor which modern anthropology has seriously questioned. But we do

591 not need to utilize this explanation. In the first place, although
428 inheritance is bilateral, the inheritance of the house site shows
423 that patrilineal house sponsorship still is stronger than matri-lineal.

> In the inheritance of the house site, women received the land in 30 per cent of the cases, men in 34 per cent. Patrilineal inheritance was more frequent in the parental generation. If we take the figures indicating which parent gave the land to the child, mothers passed on the land in 15 per cent of cases known, and fathers passed on the land in 26 per cent of the known 68 cases. (Nash, J., 1960:51).

If the place of residence is inherited from the male line more often than from the female, it is to be expected that viri-patrilocal proximity would be stronger. This offers a reasonable explanation for the higher incidence of patrilocal proximity. The

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

TABLE 15

AMATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Number	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
Inherited from the wife's relatives	78	30	30
Inherited from the husband's relatives	79	34	34
Bought	50	19	
Received from Ejido	27	10	30.5
Borrowing	4	1.5	
Inherited from husband	12	4.5	
Inherited from wife	1	.5	5.5
Unmarried orphan, inherited from parents	1	.5	
Total	262	100.0	100.0

The fact that this pattern of house sponsorship directly affects the emphasis on patrilocality is compensated for by some recent changes in the economic conditions of the village. In Amatenango, the cooperative bonds between father and son in agricultural work, united with the emphasis on patrilineal inheritance of house sites, foster patrilocality, but, at the same time, the bonds between father and son have entered in competition with the cooperative relation developed between a woman and her daughter in making pottery. If a woman lives close to her mother-in-law, she will assist her more often than her own mother in the firing of pottery--"If a man lives with his wife's family, he will assist his father-in-law in the fields more than he will work with his own father" (Nash, J., 1960:49).

•423 593 [432] [184] The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 241 592 464 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land holdings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest. 592 323 434 868 [582] [178] Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooperation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increasing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquiring cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) [114] Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 868 323 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[161] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

36 the women do so, and while 63 per cent of the men in the village
59 live in close patrilocal proximity, only 40 per cent of the men
434 in Santa Cruz live near their parents (see Table 16).

Residence of Widows

184 Another striking contrast between Aguacatenango and
589 Amatenango is the position of women, in the latter, as household
591 heads, and their residence after they become widows.

562 First, because in many cases a woman owns the house in
589 which she lives with her husband and children, she is not obliged
434 to move out of the site if her husband dies, as she is in Aguaca-
[423] tenango. Second, she does not need an adult man in the household
[768] to be able to support herself and the children because she is
able to meet the economic demands of the domestic groups from her
591 own labor in pottery production. The result of women's economic
562 independence is that many of them are the heads of their own
434 households. Out of 280 households, 39 have female heads, and 25
184 do not contain any adult men (the others contain younger sons-in-
law). This also means that all corn is bought; there is no income
derived from agriculture, but only from pottery sales. In Aguaca-
tenango, where all income derives directly or indirectly from
agriculture, this situation is inconceivable: there are no house-
holds without men, nor households in which a female is the ab-
solute head of the unit.

The Marriage Transactions and the Household

583 In Aguacatenango, a man selects his future spouse and his
584 father arranges the marriage for him. At the ceremonial visits

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 427 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

613 476 murdered. Informants declare that "all the Mendeztik will get 626 together against the Perezetik if a Perez kills a Mendez." We have 627 witnessed cases of "talk of revenge," but never any case of the 613 lineal solidarity functioning in this way in practice. In a case 736 where the father of a man dies, it is within the agnatic line that a man finds a sponsor to live with, to pay his bride-price, and to 613 work the land with. If there is conflict over an adulterous wife, 837 or over the distribution of an inheritance among brothers, it is the 428 duty of the elder members of the agnatic line to give advice, witness the distribution of the property, etc.

613 The patriline is not a land holding unit, in the sense that 423 there is no land that is said to belong to the line as a corporation, but the group of agnatically related men have control over the distribution of it, and its inheritance. If a man dies without adult sons, the closest agnatic kin (father, brother, or in some cases a father's brother if the other two are dead or have enough land) will take over the cultivated fields that he has left. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code, Ejido land can only be transmitted to people that live in the same domestic unit, and communal land cannot be transmitted at all: at the death of the person who held usufruct rights over a parcel, the land should revert to the Ayuntamiento, which has the power to re-distribute it as it considers convenient. In practice, in Aguacatenango, if the household fails to provide heirs, the parcels (both ejido and communal) are re-allocated among agnatic kin. Therefore, although the patriline does not "own" land, some land is allocated through linearity.

linearity. The widow is expected to give back to them the house site and house in which they lived, and go to live in her own parental home. In one case, a woman who had kept the house in trust for her sons, asked permission to sell the lot (which originally had been given to her dead husband) from a living male sibling of the deceased.

There are no ritual functions which have to be performed by the patriline. Aguacatenango rituals are carried on by the household, by the part-time ritual specialists (curanderos), or by officially appointed town officers (the Mayordomos).

This type of "lineage" seems to fit Homan's definition of "weak" lineage, because he considers the following characteristics as defining a weak lineage: (1) few (less than four) generations in depth; (2) narrow spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) locality limited to a few people; and (4) incest rules pulled towards the smaller local units and mainly restricted to the nuclear family. The characteristics of a strong lineage, in contrast, are: (1) many (more than four) generations in depth; (2) wide spread of linearity counted at any given time for each generation; (3) maximal localization of residence and maximal sharing of activities within the lineage; and (4) incest rules pushed away from the local units, to embrace all relatives within a lineage (lecture in the Oriental Institute, April 22, 1959, unpublished). However, I prefer to call them patrilines to distinguish them from the more elaborate agnatic descent groups common in Africa, from which they are distinguished by (1) the lack of genealogical depth; (2) the absence of the use of genealogical

121 613 manipulations for political purposes; and (3) their restricted functions.

174 613 Why is the patriline this weak? There are reasons of an historical nature, as well as functional reasons. First, with the centralization of political power created by the Spanish colony, in which each household head, independently of lineage affiliation, became a tributario (tax payer) and had rights of participation in the political structure, the political functions or the lineage 613 became debilitated. At the present time, it is only through the 624 principales that the patriline as a unit has political representation. The principles are usually the elders of the largest patrilines in the community. To make decisions, they have to have the backing of the men they represent. Belonging to a larger line indicates that a man is capable of controlling a larger number of household heads and, therefore, has stronger political support. That being the head of a large patriline gives a man authority in village affairs is shown not only by the fact that principales are thus supported, but also by the fact that patriline elders, even if they are not officially principales, on occasions can act as such, and they are sought after for advice in making Ayuntamiento decisions, by their own people and by other villagers.

174 • 423 613 Second, with the relocation of the lineages at the time that the village was reducido, and the control of the lands by the Encomienda and the Spanish crown and later by the fincas, some of the lineage control over its lands was lost. It is possible, however, that before the agrarian reform, when the village lands were scarcer, the land holding rights of the patriline were more precisely stated.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

000 precisely stated. Today, with the total increase in land holdings,
423 the influence of the Ejido Commission (however minimal) and the
621 introduction of a money economy in which land is becoming more
592 and more of a commodity that can be bought and sold, in terms of
178 contract transactions, land tends to be thought of as individual
household property. There have been several cases in which
[593] brothers have bought land from each other, although they are the
people from which a line member can expect to obtain land, or in
the absence of it, the necessary help to clear and fence a new
parcel in forested communal territory.

178 Other reasons for the constant breaking of linearity,
613 which reduced the patriline to a very shallow group, are inherent
593 in the system itself. First, the antagonism between brothers over
423 property rights tends to make the sibling group weak, and agnatic
lines split in each generation.

593 Insofar as siblings occupy an equivalent position with
[592] respect to the elders in the household, their sentiments towards
one another are easy and affectionate, but insofar as the elder
sibling has jural authority over the younger ones, the relationship
is marked by constraint, respect and a certain ambivalence.

Thus, siblings are expected to love each other, to give each other company, to help when necessary, and to share, in some aspects of their life, a common position with respect to the community at large, or what Homans calls the external system (1950: 90-94).

The equivalence of siblings, especially those of the same sex, is evident in many observations. A man whose brother is

159 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses
428 to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or
562 only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.
578

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to
[606] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the prop-
[736] erty at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

[423] The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

159 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such
422 as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.
593
578

Case 3

[431] When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

In addition to this regular ladder of officials representing the center and its close-lying barrios are judges representing the *colonias*, or rural settlements, of San Vicente, San Caralampio, and Crus Quemada. They do not regularly attend the townhall sessions, but always appear at major ceremonies and at the inauguration of new officials. Only after I had elicited officials from two informants was I able to get from the third the three judges of the colonias with the question, "Are there any other officials in the cabildo?"

These civil officials constitute the traditional ladder of the hierarchy. The positions of president and *sintiku* (in Spanish *síndico*), not included in the offices of the townhall as a category by informants, were elicited in response to the question stated above. These posts are occupied by younger men who are able to read, write, and speak fluently in Spanish. Literacy, until the present generation, was limited to those in the 30-year age bracket. Those with such skills passed immediately into the *comisario ejidal*, commission for land grants, where they assisted in the control and redistribution of land granted under the ejido program, or went directly into the post of *síndico*. Thus they were able to avoid the onerous and time-consuming functions of the traditional posts and enter into the remunerative post of president, where their authority was recognized at an early age. With improved literacy, the competition for such posts is increasing. Although informants say that the post of president alternates for the two sides of the dual division, case materials do not bear this out.

The only Ladino in the hierarchy is the secretary. For the first time this year (1964) the post of secretary has been taken by an Indian of the town. This is part of the power play described below.

Naming of civil officials is done in November, first in a closed session in the townhall at which each official names his successor, followed by a mass meeting *(Komun K'op)* at which the names are read to the assembled household heads in the plaza. To the question, "What are all the kinds of offices in the church?" the response was given: *martomaetik*, mayordomos or caretakers, and *alperesetik*, alfereces (or captains, the Spanish term *alfereces* comes from the Arabic). There are 16 mayordomos. Role terms for the mayordomos indicated that each saint was repre-

[R 213-B]